LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

S. O. DAVIES, M.P.

LABOUR'S NEW FIGHT

December, 1951

One shilling and sixpence

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOME BY CHRISTMAS

HOME by Christmas is a phrase evoking a longing for those best of good things, peace and goodwill. But today for us in Britain, for families with sons in Korea, Malaya, Egypt, it is a bitter irony. For those who 'can't afford peace' may be forced to dissemble their plans, but they don't lightly give them up. Not, for example, 'Home-by-Christmas' MacArthur, who still keeps up a propaganda barrage for the invasion of China. Yet sometimes cats pop out of bags. A Canadian reader heard his broadcast to the American Legion, when he demanded of the U.S. Chiefs-of-Staff '*Why did they start the war* if they didn't intend to win it?'—a slip causing an embarrassed correction by the radio commentator. Yes, much has to be done; and desire for peace must become determination for peace before Home by Christmas is a reality for all.

How warmly readers reacted to *A Sermon in St. Paul's*. Engineers, builders, teachers, active church workers are among those who wrote for extra copies, with pointed comments of 'what a power the Christian Church could be if it used its influence for peace.' And they congratulate *Labour Monthly* for printing this brave sermon. Writes one: 'As a Church worker active in my parish I shall keep a copy always by me. The other I am giving to the keenest Labour Party member I know here.' In a Yank businessman's journal I saw an advertisement by a firm of can manufacturers that they were 'Putting a Lot of Fresh Thinking into Cans'. To paraphrase that supremely silly unconscious humour, not only the religious community but the whole labour movement could well put a lot of fresh thinking into the defence of peace and living standards. That is certainly the problem at the heart of the post-election fight. One measure of success in that will be how far readers maintain and extend the circulation. For a real fight is needed. Here's the apparent contradiction: the fiercer the arms drive and its ruinous effect on readers' pockets, the more they realise how important a weapon *L.M.* is and how urgently it must reach new readers. From Herts: 'As the daily press becomes more shallow and misleading, a magazine which tells you what is really going on and still discusses worthwhile subjects is even more necessary'. A serviceman thanks us for D. N. Pritt's *Glimpses of Popular Democracies* which 'makes nonsense of the stories the press churn out. It's really a relief to turn to *L.M.* and get the picture straight after weeks of these outpourings'. To pass on an idea or two for those who have the fiercest struggle to find cash, this is how an Essex reader saw it: 'To a man like myself on retirement pension, two questions arise: is *L.M.* worth 1s. 6d.? and can I afford the extra? The first question is easily answered. But the second must be weighed with the general rise in the cost of living against my static pension. I used to buy the evening paper, putting up with daily irritation at its nonsense for the sake of a little amusement with the crossword. When the price went up I decided that was enough. The money saved on that rag more than paid for *L.M.*' Next, turn to p.589 and look at

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

Vol. XXXIII, No. 12 December, 1951

NOTES OF THE MONTH: Into Battle, by R.P.D. 545
LABOUR'S NEW FIGHT: by S. O. Davies M.P. 559
LESSONS OF THE ELECTION: by Wm. Gallacher 562
PEACE MOVES—TRUE AND FALSE: by Quaestor 566
A CONVERSATION WITH COL. RAYMOND ROBINS: by J. V. Stalin .. 574
ERNST THAELMANN'S LETTER FROM PRISON (II) 583
TWENTY FIVE YEARS AGO 588
CHINESE WOODCUTS 568-9

Book Reviews:

Attitude to Africa, by Michael Scott and others: *Desmond Buckle* .. 586
The New Life in Rumania, by E. V. Tempest: *D. N. Pritt* .. 587
INDEX TO VOLUME XXXIII 589

Notes of the Month

Into Battle

"The warmonger campaign did us great harm and was probably answerable for the slender majority on which the Government must rest."

WINSTON CHURCHILL (House of Commons, November 6).

THE battle is joined. Conservatism in the saddle has opened its offensive against the nation. But Conservatism did not win the support of the majority of the people in the election. It emerged from the election with a minority of votes, which the customary fraudulent and undemocratic electoral system turned into a majority of parliamentary seats. The major vote went to Labour. Hence a situation has arisen comparable in certain respects to that of the Baldwin Government in 1924, which also took office with a minority of votes in the election, and proceeded at once to the headlong deflationary 'all wages must come down' offensive, the Churchillian provocation and smashing of the general strike, the Anti-Trade Union Act of 1927, the anti-Soviet Arcos raid and military intervention against the Chinese Revolution. To-day, however, this type of situation arises in an incomparably deeper stage of crisis of British

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capitalism and imperialism, in which overlordship has passed to the United States, the assets of overseas exploitation are no longer secure, and the crazy rearmament and war policy is shattering British economy. The militant spirit of the working class, frustrated in the election by a leadership which surrended to Toryism all along the line, has nevertheless emerged unbroken from the election and continues to rise. Therefore the prospect points to deepening social and political conflicts, on a scale unparallelled for many years, as the battle is joined for the future of Britain, for peace and the living conditions of the people, and to bring down the minority Government of Tory reaction.

End of an Epoch

After six years the Labour Government has handed over to Toryism. Thereby ends the grand demonstration of Social Democracy after the second world war. The classic lesson of German Social Democracy between the wars, which boasted its claim to represent the triumphant alternative path to Communism and ended in surrender to reaction and Hitler, has been repeated anew on a larger canvas. The old Social Democracy on the Continent of Europe is a spent force and has had to give place to Communism in the majority leadership of the working class. Britain, lagging at each stage a generation behind in the development of the political labour movement, has reached the full blooming and testing of Social Democracy only in the current period. The advance to Communism belongs to the next stage. For six years the example of 'Democratic Socialism' in Britain (the twist of the phrase to conceal the putrid smell of the old discredited title, but in fact meaning exactly the same thing) has been acclaimed by its acolytes in all countries as the glorious 'new model'—the triumphant answer to Communism. To-day the outcome is visible. A profound political lesson has been chalked up in letters of life on the blackboard of history.

Their Own Epitaph

After six years of a parliamentary majority, with full constitutional powers to carry through any change, no change has been made in the class structure of Britain. Capitalism and landlordism remains in possession, and Toryism returns to power. At the very moment of the election, on the completion of these six years, the Labour Party published a pamphlet on 'Monopoly' which reached the conclusion :

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In view of the fresh evidence that has been accumulated since the war it is practically certain that monopoly has increased rather than diminished.

(Labour Party pamphlet on 'Monopoly', published in September, 1951).

'*Monopoly has increased rather than diminished.*' Such is the Labour Party's own epitaph on the accomplishment of six years of a Labour Government with a parliamentary majority.

The Great Contrast

During these same six years the People's Democracies, with Communism leading the working class and all sections of the people, have cleared out completely the landlords and big capitalists, won the resources of the country for the working people, and have travelled far along the road of building socialism. On the very morrow of the election the thirty-fourth anniversary of the first victorious socialist revolution commemorated the Russian workers' conquest of real political power, not to be thrown away after six years, but maintained and consolidated after thirty-four years, with the completion of the building of a socialist society, and advance now to new triumphs of construction which leave the greatest engineering feats of the capitalist world pigmy efforts in comparison. Why this contrast? Not only in Britain, but in Australia and New Zealand the Labour Governments and in France, Belgium and Italy Governments led by Social Democracy, have given place to Right Wing Governments. Such is the difference in experience between the countries where Communism leads the working class and where Social Democracy leads the working class. Is there not here a lesson for every serious member of the Labour Party to ponder?

A Victory Squandered

Why did the electoral victory of 1945 give place to the defeat of 1951? How is it possible that the surging popular advance of 1945, the parallel of the victorious anti-fascist liberation which in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe marched forward to the triumph of popular democracy, marched backwards to the triumph of reaction in Britain? Why did the initial advance in Britain, which had swept away the hated 'Guilty Men' of Toryism amid universal discredit, fail to go forward to the consolidation of the working class and its popular alliance with the middle strata, on the basis of the inspiring achievements of a Government of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

working people ? Why did the Government formed fail to use its political and organising power to strike at monopoly and build up an unbreakable common front of the working people, of four-fifths of the nation, so that Toryism should never be able to raise its head again ? The answer is inescapable. The victory of 1945 was frittered away, undermined, squandered and destroyed, not by the strength of Toryism, but *from within*, by the weakness of policy and leadership of the labour movement, specifically by the Right Wing Labour leadership, by the leadership of the Attlees, Morrisons, Bevins and Cripps, who found themselves thrust into power in 1945 against their own expectation, and hastened to unite with Toryism on every key issue. Thereby Toryism was restored.

Record of Six Years

The Attlee Labour Government had none of the excuses of the two previous Labour Governments of MacDonald—the excuse of a minority, of 'office without power'. It was a full testing of six years with a majority. All the theories of Labour Reformism were put to the test of practice—and the outcome is a Tory Government. As with German Social Democracy after 1918, so in Britain after 1945 the British Eberts and Scheidemanns had first the task to appease the militant popular spirit at the end of the war with a show of concessions and liberal reforms within the capitalist framework, even at the same time as they carried on the bloodstained work of suppression in Greece and elsewhere. But this 'honeymoon' period was short. From the outset in reality, and more and more openly as their policy proceeded, they proved the faithful executors of the strategic aims and requirements of Big Business and imperialism, protected profits rising to record heights, established a veiled coalition with Toryism in foreign policy and strategy, accepted the Fulton programme of Churchill, sold out Britain for a handful of dollars to American economic and military domination, embarked on colonial wars, nursed and fostered anti-Soviet hatred and bellicose propaganda, and inflicted the heaviest economic burdens upon the people in pursuit of this ruinous policy.

Caretakers for Toryism

The consequences were inevitable, so long as this policy was allowed to continue. Labour supporters were frustrated and disorganised; the militant revolt of the workers, which shattered the wage-freeze, had to come into conflict with the leadership, which

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

delivered all its blows against the left. Britain was landed in a desperate economic, political and military morass, which led to ever heavier blows against the standards of the people. Discredited Toryism was thus enabled to rebuild its shattered fortunes. The disastrous consequences of Tory war policy executed by a Labour Government provided Toryism with demagogic ammunition to play on the discontents of the people. Thereby the stage was set for the election as the final step of six years of betrayal. As in every previous experience of Social Democracy in every country, the Right Wing leaders, having accomplished their task of disorganising the popular advance, finally hand over to the direct leaders of reaction with an ill-concealed sigh of relief, in order to continue their task as a 'loyal opposition'. The classic record is complete. The lesson of these six years needs to be learned for any future Government based on the Labour movement.

Sabotaging the Election

This record of six years of shame reached its final culmination in the conduct of the election. Why did the Attlee Government finally decide to call the election in October, and reject the alternative of waiting in the vain hope of an improvement in the situation? Precisely because their policy had reached bankruptcy. On the one hand, they were faced with a desperate economic situation, the soaring deficit in the balance of payments, the failure of the Morrison-Gaitskell Mission to the United States to secure any alleviation, and the consequent necessity to impose the new savage cuts and burdens which the Butler Programme has initiated. On the other hand, they were faced with the rising revolt of the rank and file against their policies, demonstrated at the Blackpool Trades Union Congress and in the agenda of the Scarborough Labour Party Conference, and partially reflected in the resignation of Ministers and support for the professed alternative programme of Bevanism. Between these two horns of their dilemma they could find no way out save to call an election. By the election they hoped to achieve a twofold object. First, to stifle for the moment the left revolt and shelve the agenda of Scarborough in the name of a call for unity against the common enemy. Second, to hand over peacefully to the Tories to wield the whip of the economic offensive which their own diminished hold on the rank and file was rendering them too weak to carry out successfully, and pass over themselves to the more comfortable role of a sham 'opposition.'

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Low Lets the Cat Out of the Bag

Since the days of Marshal Bazaine and Marshal Pétain there has been no better example of generalship for defeat than in this election. The Right Wing Labour leadership did not fight this election in order to win. They 'fought' the election in order to lose and hand over to the Tories. This plain and ugly truth—sufficiently familiar from the talk of the upper circles of the leadership, however much denied in public—was given away by the official Labour organ the *Daily Herald* immediately after the election in Low's cartoon which depicted Attlee, Morrison and Gaitskell grinning with delighted jubilation at the spectacle of Churchill and his colleagues gingerly occupying the 'hot seat' of the Government Front Bench with the smoke of 'crisis' rising all around them. The title 'Hot Seat' should have read 'Indecent Mirth at a Funeral.' Every picture tells a story—sometimes more than the artist intended. By the publication of this verdict on the election result the upper stratum of the bureaucracy momentarily forgot the censorship on their real thoughts. They forgot the rank and file Labour supporters and *Daily Herald* readers who had regarded the election fight as a serious fight and the advent of a Tory Government as a disaster. Their sunshine was night for the workers.

Labour's Fifth Column

Indeed, even if the Right Wing Labour leaders had wished to fight the Tories, they were in no position to do so. They were tied hand and foot to a programme of unity with the Tories on every major issue before the nation; and they sought to impose this programme of essential unity with Toryism on every Labour candidate. They were united with the Tories in support of the rearmament programme, which governed the whole situation at home and abroad; the American war alliance and military occupation of Britain as an offensive atomic base; the rearming of German Nazis and Japanese militarists; the wars in Korea and Malaya; the crippling strategic bans on British trade; and the consequent economic burdens and cuts in the social services imposed to pay for the rearmament and war programme. At the very outset of the election Churchill emphasised this unity of Toryism and official Labour on foreign policy:

> In the main lines of foreign policy the Socialists have followed the course suggested to them by the Conservative Party.
>
> (Churchill, speech at Liverpool, October 2, 1951).

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Similarly the Labour Party official election handbook 'Campaign Quotations' actually quoted at the head of its section on 'International Policy' Churchill's praise of the Labour Government's foreign policy for having 'followed with steadfastness the line I marked out at Fulton' (the Fulton line described by Bevin as directed to 'a preventive war' i.e. an aggressive war) as a tribute in their favour.

Suppressing the Truth

In this way the electoral 'controversy' at top level turned into an elaborate display of shadow-boxing and concealment of the real issues, which left the electors bewildered and asking what was the real difference between the parties. The Tories sought to make demagogic play with the hardships of the people, the rise in prices and the shortage of houses as a supposed consequence of 'socialism'. The right wing Labour leaders were incapable of pointing to the real causes of these hardships in the rearmament programme and American policy, or offering a positive alternative programme to meet the needs of the people. In consequence, they were reduced to arguing that the rise of prices and deterioration of conditions was even worse in all other countries in the world; and the grand 'battle of the graphs' followed, in which Tories and official Labour united in concealing from the electorate the truth (even admitted in the United Nations statistics from which they dishonestly quoted) about the reduction of prices and raising of social standards in the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. The entire official electoral 'controversy' was maintained on this level of distortion and concealment of the facts, and ignoring of every key question; and only this fraudulent and fictitious 'controversy' of united partisans of the American War Bloc was accorded the monopoly of facilities of broadcasting and mass press publicity, any opposition expression or the Communist viewpoint being barred from broadcasting.

The Plot That Went Wrong

Under these conditions the significant feature of the electoral vote was not so much the relative Tory advance, for which all the conditions had been prepared, as the stubborn tenacity of the Labour rank and file fight, in spite of the leadership, and the consequent failure of Toryism to win a majority. This outcome took all the high official circles by surprise. Everything had been set for a

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'swing to the right.' The Labour Ministers had prepared their little retreats. All the experts, the press prophets, the American commentators were certain of the result beforehand. The only dispute was whether the Tory parliamentary majority would be 60, 90 or 120. The Stock Exchange jubilated on the announcement of the election, and shares boomed in the expectation of a Tory victory. The newspaper polls recorded a Tory lead of 11 to 13 per cent. over Labour. And then, as the campaign proceeded, something went wrong. The gap recorded in the newspaper polls shrank day by day to a narrower margin. The prophets became uncertain. By the day of the poll the Labour vote had exceeded the Tory vote. The sensitive barometer of the Stock Exchange revealed the shock. The same Stock Exchange which had boomed on the announcement of the election went into a decline on the announcement of the poll.

> All this week the prices of Government securities and industrial shares have been falling heavily. . . There had been excessive optimism before the election. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 3).

High Finance had won its immediate objective of a Tory Government. But it recognised that the victory was a Pyrrhic victory. It had failed in its major objective to register a majority of the voters for Toryism. Hence it looked to the future with alarm.

A Soldiers' Battle

This transformation of the political situation in the course of the election—a transformation which came within an ace of barring the road to the Tory Government and forcing the reluctant Labour Ministers back into office—is a portent for the future. It revealed to the startled official world what an overwhelming majority a united fighting labour movement could have won on the basis of a programme corresponding to the demands of the people for peace and improved conditions against the Tory policy of war and misery. Like the general strike of 1926, the Labour election fight of 1951 was a soldiers' battle. The rank and file went into action, in spite of the defeatism of their leadership and in spite of the surrender of the leadership to Tory policy. The sham fight above turned into a real fight below. And it is precisely here that the Communist Party played its key role in this election, deliberately sacrificing the greater part of its candidates, and in practice its own vote, in order to concentrate its efforts on the supreme aim to rally the entire labour movement for the fight, to smash through the barriers of defeatism, passivity and assumptions of inevitable Tory victory,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and transform the election fight into a real fight for the aims of peace and the needs of the people against the offensive of Tory reaction and war. The conditions of the electoral system were still successful in preventing the true measure of popular support for the policies for which the Communist Party fought being registered in the vote for its candidates; this barrier has still to be overcome*. But there is no question that the campaign of the Communist Party and the Daily Worker played an important part in the transformation of the character of the election fight and final vote which took all the high official circles by surprise and threw a spanner in the complacent calculations of Toryism.

Peace and the Warmongers

The mass fight for peace broke through the hypocritical trappings of the election. Who is for war? Who is for peace? This question exercised the real concern of the people. Bitter Tory complaints of the charge of 'warmongering' revealed their guilty recognition that this was their vulnerable point. Had the charge been pressed home, had Labour fought on a positive programme for peace, Toryism would have been routed. All the top Labour leadership rushed to the rescue of the Tories to repudiate the charge of warmongering and bear testimony to the profound pacific intentions of Mr. Churchill and the Tory leaders. Even this could not stifle the charge. The organised workers profoundly distrusted Churchill and the Tories as the party of war, even though they had not yet learned to recognise Attlee and Morrison as partners in the war policy.

A Significant Verdict

Mr. Churchill devoted his final major election speech at Plymouth to repudiate the 'Communist' charge of warmongering ('the Communists brazenly make the charge that I am a warmonger'), and to proclaim his soul's supreme ambition to prevent a third world war and promote friendship with the Soviet Union. Next day Mr. Morrison 'replied.' Did Mr. Morrison contrast Mr. Churchill's false professions with his real warmongering record, his

* In this connection it is worth noting that the parallel election of William Paynter, a Communist, to the Presidency of the South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers by a majority of over 7,000 in a ballot taken throughout the Welsh coalfields within a few days of the parliamentary election vote revealed a markedly different picture of the relation of forces within the working class. Working class democracy adds up to a different sum from the humbug of capitalist 'democracy'.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fulton programme for a third world war, or his criminal anti-Soviet wars of intervention which he still to this day vaunts and boasts of as justified? On the contrary. Mr. Morrison sneered at Mr. Churchill as a convert to the 'Communist partisans of peace' ('I began to wonder whether the Tories would be signing the Communist peace petition'). In other words, Mr. Morrison denounced Mr. Churchill as a 'peacemonger.' Each side accused the other of playing up to the Communist campaign. Such was the parting gift of this leadership to Labour's fight on the eve of the election. Thus the top leadership on both sides united in repudiating the charge of warmongering and in denouncing the peace campaign as 'Communist.' Yet when the electoral result was revealed Mr. Churchill declared his verdict in the House of Commons on November 6 that it was precisely this peace campaign and the charge of warmongering—which the official leadership on both sides repudiated as 'Communist'—that had been the decisive factor in the result of the election and had robbed Toryism of its expected electoral majority. There is in this verdict a significant pointer to the real political situation and to the real feeling of the people which cuts considerably deeper than all the distorting mathematics of a gerrymandered electoral machine whose main purpose is to prevent the expression of the people's will.

Who Won the Election?

It is indeed a remarkable picture which is revealed by the electoral count. Labour obtained 13.9 million votes. Toryism obtained 13.7 million votes. The innocent might imagine that this would mean that Labour won. On the contrary, Toryism won. The people voted, by a narrow margin of nearly a quarter of a million, for a Labour Government against a Tory Government. As a reward, they receive a Tory Government. Such is the marvellous 'democratic' electoral system under which we have the privilege of living. In France they had to introduce special legislation before the election to gerrymander the electoral system in order to ensure a Right Wing Government from a left electoral vote. In blessed Britain no such precautions were required. The system is gerrymandered already. Britain has never known a democratic electoral system. All respectable opinion, Tory and Official Labour equally, repudiate with horror the idea of a democratic electoral system, on the grounds that this would in their opinion prevent a 'strong Government.' Thereby they reveal their preference for 'strong Government' before democracy. However, it remains to be seen

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whether the resulting Tory Government will prove as 'strong' as the Labour leaders wish—when the workers begin to develop their offensive against it.

Two Nations

For in fact the electoral verdict of 1951, as of 1950, reveals, even though in distorted form, a significant social picture. It reveals the confrontation of two armies, ranged under the flags of Conservatism and Labour, deadlocked against one another in almost equal proportions of just under fourteen millions, with little shift between the two, and with a real conflict of an inescapably class character below, despite the official identity of programmes and denial of class issues on top. Thus there is here a kind of distorting mirror of Disraeli's 'two nations.' The Labour vote increased by over half a million; the Tory vote by over a million; the Liberal vote declined by nearly two millions. These figures afford no evidence of any desertion of former Labour supporters to Toryism; the only shift could be fully accounted for by the division of the Liberal vote in proportions favouring Toryism. This virtual extinction of the former dominant Liberal Party would represent, not a shift of popular opinion to the right, but a deepening of the class confrontation in response to the deepening crisis in Britain.

A Pointer to the Future

Nevertheless, this real class confrontation is still reflected only in a distorting mirror in the electoral mechanism. It is fantastic that in Britain, with its four fifths proletarian and semi-proletarian majority, the party of property and its hangers on should be able to muster a nearly equal number against the party of the working people. This is the price of Right Wing Labour Leadership and its policy of surrender to the monopolists, Toryism and war, and division of the working class. In vain they seek to solve the consequent deadlock by wooing the Liberal remnant as an alternative to uniting the working class. Only a strong and united labour movement, with a fighting policy for peace and the social needs of the people, can rally also the unorganised workers who still vote Tory and the vacillating middle elements. Once this next stage of advance is achieved, the days of Toryism will be numbered, and the road will be open to People's Democracy in Britain.

The Crisis and the Election

The election is over—the crisis continues. The election has brought no solution to the deepening dilemmas and disasters in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which Britain is involved as a result of the present policies. On the contrary, the calling of the election was a direct consequence of the sharpening of the crisis—the simultaneous worsening of the economic situation and beginnings of leftward upsurge and militancy of the workers. To meet this upsurge the Whip of Labour Imperialism has been replaced by the Scorpion of Toryism. But the real instability and contradiction is thereby only deepened and brought into the open. The outcome of the election has not solved the conflict, but carried it forward to a new stage. The formal political deadlock continues, with the almost equal balance of the two parties, and the uneasy maintenance of a Tory Administration on the basis of a minority electoral vote. The parliamentary majority represents an electoral minority. The composition of the present parliament is in conflict with the electoral verdict. Hence it is inevitable that the conflict will go forward in the extra-parliamentary field, to bring pressure to bear on the unrepresentative parliament and force its dissolution, and to bring down the unrepresentative Tory Government. The sharpening of the crisis, and the consequent savage measures introduced by the new Government, inevitably sharpen this conflict and bring it to the forefront from the outset. All the electoral promises have had to be openly and publicly abandoned in the first days of the new Government. There remain only the war offensive abroad and the economic offensive at home.

A Government by the Grace of the United States

Nor can the deepening internal struggle in Britain be separated from the international situation. The transfer to a Tory Government in Britain has corresponded to the calculations of American policy. In every country of the American orbit—in France, in Italy, in Belgium, in Western Germany, in Australia, in New Zealand, and now in Britain—Right Wing Governments have been established, reversing the verdict of 1945. Such has been the working out of General Marshall's Plan. Britain represented the last step in this strategy; and now the change-over in Britain is being utilised to give an impetus for the final transition in the United States to a Republican dictatorship of Herr General Eisenhower as the signal for their loudly publicised date for launching world war.

Dollar Mendicant

Never since the days of the Ministries of Charles II has a Government in Britain been so openly proclaimed to correspond to the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interests of a foreign Power. Even during the election American expression did not conceal the aim of a Tory victory:

'The United States has a big stake in the outcome. Churchill could bring the United States and Britain closer together.'

(*U.S. News and World Report*, September 29).

'Right across the U.S.A. they are openly hoping for a Tory victory.'

(*New York correspondent, Evening Standard*, September 26).

After the election American official jubilation was even more open:

'Wall Street was pleased . . by the Conservative victory.'

(*Manchester Guardian*, October 27).

'We are glad Winston Churchill has won the election.'

(*Scripps Howard chain*, October 26).

'Secretary Acheson, now in mid ocean, will have a happier landing in Europe than if the British Labour Party had been returned.'

(*Washington Post*, October 28).

'There is official satisfaction. Officials share the general satisfaction.'

(*Daily Telegraph Washington correspondent*, October 27).

And then comes the little begging postscript from the ruined, but docile satellite 'for services rendered'

'American sympathy and help will be forthcoming to a greater degree now.'

(*Daily Telegraph Political Correspondent*, October 27).

'Last week, after a meeting of the Cabinet, Sir Edwin Plowden was instructed to break the news to Mr. Harriman in Paris that Britain . . . would like to join France and the other countries making an application for an immediate advance from the United States.'

(*Observer*, November 11).

Premier Churchill announces his intention as his first political act in the international field to visit Washington—no doubt with a begging bowl in hand. The principle of British lives for dollars has been explained to be a fair exchange by the Eisenhowers and Bradleys.

War on the People

War on the people at home and abroad—such is the programme of this Tory Government in the service of the American warlords. Concentration of troops against Egypt. Dispatch of Lyttelton to hot up the war in Malaya. New surrenders to the United States in the Far East. Handing over the Middle East to an American-controlled Command for every alien invading Power against the peoples of the Middle East. Docility of the 'world-famous clothes-horse' (in the language of the American press) Eden at Paris to repeat only

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tedious and redundant dittos to Acheson. Surrender to the new demands of Eisenhower. Do they count the cost to the British people? On the contrary, as the bill comes home, as Britain sinks under the load, their only solution is to launch a new economic offensive against the British people, while holding out the cap for dollars. Cuts and restrictions of every living and social need to pay for profligate war expenditure—such is the 'constructive' programme of the Churchills, Butlers and Lytteltons. In panic they proclaim that Britain is faced with bankruptcy, but they conceal the cause. They proclaim that they are ready for the most drastic surgical operation to meet the menace. But the surgical operation that is needed is their own removal and the ending of their policy of ruin in the service of the American plans for a new world war.

The Battle Opens

All the anxious promises of the Attlees and Morrisons and the General Council to maintain loyal cooperation with Toryism cannot exorcise the real fight which faces the British working class and the entire British people. The united battle of the election opens out to a wider arena. The menace which the new Churchill Government represents is grave. But this Churchill Government has no strong or stable basis. It knows that is carries no mandate from the majority of the people. It is fearful of the deep suspician and hostility with which it is regarded by the industrial workers, on whom the country depends. The universal demand of the people for peace, and the rising militant spirit among the industrial workers and left revolt within the Labour Party have not been checked by the election manoeuvres. The fight for peace and for the reduction of armaments is now bound up with the most elementary fight for the living standards of all working people. The enemy is plain; the tasks are plain. But success in the coming struggles requires that the political lessons must be unsparingly drawn from the election and the whole past period, to end the policies which have led to disaster, and to advance to a new basis of militant policy and leadership and united struggle. Only so, as the battle develops for peace and the living needs of the people, can the mass movement advance to a stage to bring down the Churchill Government and force a new election, in which a united labour movement under a fighting leadership will be able to reverse the outcome of 1951 and open a new era of advance.

R.P.D.

November 16, 1951.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR'S NEW FIGHT

S. O. DAVIES, M.P.

PEACE, the struggle for peace, is by far the most important question for all of us in Britain. The rising cost of living, the need for higher wages to meet it, the new restrictions imposed by the new Tory Government, all of these things are subordinate to the supreme question of peace. For all of them are created by the injury done to the cause of peace, by the vast rearmament which drives, unless it be stopped, toward a more terrible war. Stop rearmament, stop the expenditure already begun of £4,700,000,000 on arms, stop the even more monstrous sums which we are told the Americans demanded at the Ottawa meeting just before the dissolution of parliament and you cut off at the root the evil growth of inflation, of deficits, of higher prices, mounting costs. Stop rearmament, go in for disarmament all round, and you strengthen the cause of peace. That is why from every point of view the most important thing is the struggle for peace, and against the rearmament danger.

This was the chief lesson of the General Election campaign and of its results. But for reasons that should be understood the campaign within the Labour movement lacked its traditional *élan* and enthusiasm; lacked a distinctive and irreconcilable contrast, at this particular moment in our history, with immediate Tory policy. As stated the people feared war. Their daily worries about the increasing cost of living and conscription tearing their sons away from their homes, some of whom were the principal breadwinners, were all related to rearmament, and that to our foreign policy. Let it not be forgotten this last general election was fought in an atmosphere of war preparations and threatened war.

The Tory Party were not only in agreement with our foreign policy: in fact, they proudly claimed to have been the authors of it, and that they had succeeded in forcing its adoption on the Labour Government. Many Labour Candidates, I know, agree with me when I say that had Labour gone to the country with a Socialist foreign policy, that is, a policy for peace, the Tories would have suffered a defeat more severely than that of 1945. But we were hamstrung on immediate fundamentals. On these, it was difficult to distinguish us from the Tories except particularly, in such areas as South Wales where the Tories had perpetrated such ravages in the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inter-war years, and where the Labour Government during the 1945-50 years had done such splendid work. We socialists were bedevilled by the threat of war ; the appalling cost of preparation for war ; its utter senseless futility ; the dreadful and sickening feeling that we were hurtling headlong into disaster to which there was no defence, and from which nothing could emerge but irreparable, calamitous, destruction. As an answer to this what could we say that the Tories could not repeat with equal prospects of being believed.

We have now the doubtful privilege of seeing Tory pre-election pledges being throttled by the same stranglehold of a mistaken foreign policy and its monstrous progeny of rearmament with all its social and economic consequences. The Tory Government is, apparently, seeking the same solution, and that is to go ' cap in hand ' once again to the most dangerously predatory power in the world. More American Aid is to be sought.. This, I believe, will be given but at a price of further and deeper humiliation ; a price that will inexorably spell the doom of Britain. Already we have paid heavily for so-called ' American Aid '. For it we have handed over Britain, with its 50 million men, women and children, as the principal base in the war strategy of American imperialism—bases for American atom bomb squadrons, and thousands of American soldiers and airmen. We have shouldered the appalling burden of rearmament to the tune of £4,700,000,000; we have, that is to say, assumed a burden so crippling that it must inevitably undermine and destroy the great work of the Labour Government between 1945 and 1950.

In addition, we have lost the friendship, and gained the enmity of a thousand million people who have either thrown off their ages-old tyrannies or are in the process of so doing. We have, with a Socialist Britain within our reach, allowed ourselves against all our traditions to be buffeted and browbeaten into the counter-revolutionary movement, led by the last remaining imperialist power within whose orbit are the relics of old imperialist powers, puppet dictatorships, and petty tyrannies. In this bloc of reaction a British Tory Government will find its spiritual home, and American leaders at the White House have gaily welcomed them.

American aid for British rearmament will be given. But the price, as I have said, will be paid. Food subsidies, health and other social services will be savagely attacked. Any attempt to improve wages, salaries and general working conditions will be resisted,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

controls on the wild excesses of profit seekers will be removed, and Britain will be merged with increasing tempo in the American economy.

What is the lesson to be learned from all this? Immediately, there must be a review of policy, and this I understand to be the intention of those trade union branches that are demanding a recall of the Scarborough Labour Conference so that there can be a full democratic discussion both of what has been done in the past and what has to be aimed at in the future.

The British working-class movement is still based on our Trade Unions, and never have the rank-and-file been stronger and more militant than at present. They will, I am confident, not only resist any attempt of the Tory Government to worsen their conditions but will also respond to a progressive policy that will break the shackles now fastened on us. Our first call will be to the workers of the world acclaiming our solidarity with them; to revive our traditional hatred of imperialism with its tyranny and oppression; to declare the determination to expose and oppose the machinations of all warmongers; to extricate Britain from the threat of counter-revolutionary forces, and to identify the British Labour Movement with the progressive forces of the world. This calls for a policy of peace, the ending of rearmament, the clearing from British soil of all alien armed forces, the reorientating of British foreign policy towards those populous parts of the world who are breaking with their cruel past, and are struggling to build a civilisation unrestricted by financial oligarchies ever seeking 'spheres of influence', cheap raw materials, military bases, and ever thwarting the legitimate aspirations of oppressed peoples by armed forces and threats of war.

Readers in the areas of Marylebone (London) and Falkirk (Stirlingshire) who would like to join LABOUR MONTHLY Discussion Groups, please write for details.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LESSONS OF THE ELECTION

WILLIAM GALLACHER

THE 1951 election will, I am sure, take its place as a landmark in the history of the British working class. There has never been one just like it. For long enough dissatisfaction had been growing within the labour movement at the Labour Government's subservience to America and at the heavy burden of armaments that followed from this. This was made manifest by the resignation of Bevan and his colleagues and the vote that was registered for them at the Labour Party Conference. Throughout the country there was a dull, unhappy feeling of frustration breaking out occasionally, particularly amongst working class women, into what appeared to be definite opposition to Labour and all it stood for.

It seemed an ideal situation for the Tories, when the Labour Government decided to pack in and have an election. Forecasts of a majority of 150 were the general rule. The Labour leaders did nothing to lessen the likelihood of those prophecies coming true. They were without policy or programme. They gave no leadership whatever to the working class. Morrison peddling cheap, smug impudence handed out what he thought to be soothing syrup to the middle class, especially the Liberals, but only made it more certain that they would go over to the Tories. For only strength, not whining, will attract the ' wobblers '; and effective leadership of the working class will, at any crisis, arouse the working class to a demonstration of strength that wins all except those who are quite definitely enemies of human progress, the landowning and capitalist class and their parasitic hangers-on. And if ever there was a whining speech it was Attlee's the Saturday evening before polling day. I have never heard a speech like it. When he finished I said to my wife ' He doesn't want to win '. What a boost he gave to Eden. What an honourable man he was and how helpful he had been on Foreign Policy. Then, to still the fears of the timid, he told them there was no danger of Bevan being Prime Minister unless the Parliamentary Party elected him as leader.

Such a chance for a real working class leader. Just think what Harry Pollitt could have done in that half-hour. The next morning I met an old friend of mine, a baker and a loyal supporter of the Labour Party. ' I listened to Attlee last night ' he told me, ' it was the worst speech that's been made in the series '. I don't think any-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one will question him on that. It looked all set for the Tories. There was Churchill parading around with the ballots ready in his pocket. The Tories were jubilant. But then, as polling day drew near, their confidence began to melt. Things didn't look near so good. For try as they might they could make no impression on the great mass of the organised workers. They, not the Labour leaders; accused the Tories, with good cause, of being war-mongers. So much so, that Churchill, of all people, had in the later stages to try the impossible task of passing himself off as a Pacifist. You can imagine the hard-faced gents on his platform sitting there with their tongues in their cheeks. But it didn't take a trick with the workers. Their comments on his spurious pacifism would have made his cigar fizzle if he could have heard them.

For despite disappointment and even disgust with the performance of Labour leaders, the hatred of the Tories, as symbolising all the evils of capitalist exploitation, kept the workers solid for Labour, regardless of how weak the leadership had proved itself to be.

And here it has to be noted that a mighty factor in stimulating the men and women in the factories, the decisive elements in the election, was the *Daily Worker*. True, it hasn't the mass circulation of the big capitalist dailies, but it goes into the factories and gives a lead to the shop-stewards and through them to the factories as a whole. And the *Daily Worker* election campaign was one of the most telling and decisive that 'our own workers' paper' has ever conducted. Day after day it exposed the type of men who constituted the leadership of the Tory Party and the interests they represented—Stock Exchange speculators, armament makers, aristocratic landowners, and all the unholy crew that live in idle luxury at the expense of the working class. This was something the workers could understand, and it fanned their hatred of the Tories.

Then in so many of the constituencies we hear of the members of the Communist Party being welcomed by the rank and file of the Labour Party as comrades in the common struggle to defeat the enemies of the working class. In some cases where the morale was low the entrance of the Communists gave a new spirit to the fight and aroused many of those who were lying back to renewed effort. Everywhere the watchword of the Communists, as with the *Daily Worker*, was 'Defeat the Tories'. Shop stewards in the factories, District Committees of the Unions, everywhere the call went forth—'Defeat the Tories'. And for the workers the only way to defeat the Tories was to vote Labour.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In such a situation there was no chance of our candidates registering anything like a substantial vote. Should we have run them, some may ask. Most certainly. True, it was a wise decision to cut down the numbers as far as possible, leaving only sufficient to ensure a strong Party campaign in certain important areas. For this campaign meant that our policy and programme was being discussed not only in the constituencies we were contesting, but in the factories up and down the country and was most surely being contrasted with the lack of policy and programme on the part of the Labour leaders. Mr. Morrison in his cheap-jack fashion could talk of Churchill accepting the Peace policy of the Communist Party. But Mr. Morrison ought to know that Churchill made his 'pacifist' speech for the simple reason that he knew the workers were accepting the Peace policy of the Communist Party.

I have been in many campaigns, election campaigns and others, but I have never been in one where our Party comrades were so warmly and sincerely welcomed or where what we had to say was listened to with such keen, eager attention. Foremost in every speech was the question of Peace and the Five Power Pact as the means of achieving it; the reduction of armaments expenditure and our resources used to build up the health and well-being of the people. Never have I heard our policy put with such good effect as by our candidates in Scotland (It would be the same elsewhere).

But I was in the four Scottish constituencies and can give heartfelt testimony to the magnificent job they did in their respective constituencies. Their efforts will not be lost. It will bear fruit in the not very distant future. For we should have no illusions about what has happened in this election. The Labour leaders may close their eyes to it and hope to keep the old game of Ins and Outs going for a little while longer, but the sands are rapidly running out. We had in this election, and will have from now on, an open confrontation of the classes. The Tories, representing capitalism, with the uncertain middle class and a section of confused workers on one side, but arrayed solidly against them the strong unconquerable millions of organised workers. Once before in this century we had an open confrontation of the classes, in the General Strike of 1926. Then as now, Churchill was the active leader of the enemy forces. Then as now the leadership was incapable of facing up to the task that such a situation demands. Then as now, at the height of the struggle, the leadership threw in its hand.

There will be a next time and soon, despite the spineless pro-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nouncement of the General Council and desertion of Socialism by the Labour leaders. A next time when we must ensure that there will be a leadership capable of carrying the struggle through to victory. For had there been leadership in the elections, had the spirit of victory been aroused, the confused workers and the middle class would have been won to the side of the workers.

This is the lesson of history in this as in all other lands. Where the workers are marching strong and resolute on the road to victory and working class power, all the weaker, vacillating elements are drawn towards them. The workers here are ready to march, the election result has demonstrated that beyond any question, but who will lead them ? There are comrades in the Labour Party, in the trade unions, who, if once allied with the Communists, could provide the leadership necessary for the task. Can we bring about such unity ? The cause of Peace, the future of this country and of its people depends upon its realisation. History has taken us a further stage in the great struggle of the classes, and in doing so has placed upon us a great responsibility. The workers stand true. Let us see that they get the leadership they deserve. A resolute class leadership for a resolute class army.

LABOUR MONTHLY PAMPHLETS

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF WILLIAM MORRIS
R. Page Arnot (1s.)

TRUTH ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.
D. N. Pritt, K.C. (6d.)

CONCERNING PRACTICE
Mao Tse-Tung (6d.)

POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF KARL MARX
Roy Pascal (1s.)

ORDER FROM ALL BOOKSHOPS, *or* DEPT. D., 134 BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3.

LABOUR MONTHLY BOUND VOLUME 1951

It's a history of the year and a permanent record.

ORDER NOW

From your usual newsagents, price £1.1.0

Or send 10s. 6d. and your loose copies by December 15 to

THE MANAGER, 134 BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3.

Ready end of January.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PEACE MOVES — TRUE AND FALSE

QUÆSTOR.

SINCE the General Election it has become urgently necessary for the Tory Government—and its friends in the Labour movement—to talk about peace. In vain are the Tories (so we learned from the *Economist* of November 3) 'still angry and bitter about the slur of warmongering': the enormous groundswell of still more angry voters who upset the calculations of Tory and Labour headquarters alike on October 25 will not be denied. 'But perhaps it may be bamboozled'? Let's try *talking* about peace'. And so the manœuvres began.

First it was Churchill's election dodge, repeated from the 1950 campaign—a hint that he would 'talk direct with Stalin': why not try that, when the Labour leaders so often rejected with sneers the demand of their own rank and file for that very thing (voiced most recently at their Scarborough Conference)? On October 29 *The Times* leading article referred to 'Mr. Churchill's declared willingness to "parley" with Mr. Stalin'. On the same day it published an appeal by the Archbishop of York for him to begin direct negotiations 'as soon as it is practicable—I do not say that the moment for that has come now'. The next day the *News Chronicle*—mouthpiece of the pro-Tory Liberals—had an editorial calling for 'a new departure toward the establishment of peace', by 'intelligent British leadership', and asserting that Churchill's re-emergence 'increases the hope of a working agreement with Russia'. In one form or another, the soft soap began to pour.

A second opportunity, not to be missed, was the presentation of credentials by the new British Ambassador in Moscow. 'Moscow Envoy Talks of Peace' was the inspired headline in the *Daily Herald* (November 3): 'World Tension Can be Eased, Moscow Envoy's View' wrote the *Daily Telegraph*: with similar captions elsewhere—'Desire to Ease Unrest' (*The Times*), 'Anglo-Soviet Relations—New Envoy's Hopes' (*Manchester Guardian*). The only discordant note, reproduced by the *Daily Express*, was the assurance of the *New York Times* correspondent to his newspaper that the Ambassador's remarks 'did not represent a change in British policy.'

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The United Nations Assembly which opened on November 6 afforded another opening. 'U.S. to Ask Russia: Will You Halt The Cold War' roared the *Daily Herald* across its front page on November 5. 'U.S. Bids For World Arms Cut' shouted the *News Chronicle,* not to be outdone. 'Paving the Way to Accord With Russia' was the way in which the *Daily Telegraph* announced what its Washington correspondent called a 'peace offensive' by the U.S.A., only mentioning in small print, as an afterthought, that there was no 'increased optimism' among British and American officials. In one form or another, the other papers echoed the story—'Truman To Urge Disarmament' (*Daily Mail*); 'West's Drive To Relieve World Tension' (*Manchester Guardian*).

On November 6 the campaign continued, with a well-orchestrated 'build-up' by the press of an alleged 'determined attempt to reach agreement with Russia to ease the burden of armaments and enhance the chances of peace', which the Western Powers, led by the U.S.A. were on the point of making (*Daily Telegraph* report from Paris). 'U.S. Plan May End Deadlock' announced the *Daily Mail;* 'U.S. Peace Plan is Backed by Britain' said the *Daily Herald;* the *Daily Telegraph* editorial stated that there 'will be a detailed and definite plan for disarmament', and spoke of 'testing Russian intentions'.

Then, on November 7, came a hint of the true intentions of the Western Powers—the determination to talk about peace, without one real attempt to secure it. The French President had spoken the previous day of the desirability that 'the distinguished men to whom all anxious eyes are now turned' should come to Paris to try to 'reduce the disagreements which paralyse the world'. His statement was given full prominence—with some reservations that such a meeting required 'long and careful diplomatic preparation' (*News Chronicle*), and that 'we should not expect much evident improvement as a result of it' (*Manchester Guardian*). Churchill had spoken in Parliament, also the day before, of 'a supreme effort to bridge the gulf between the two worlds', in order to create 'a new atmosphere'. This too was well publicised. But not a single newspaper except the *Daily Worker* published the statement by Lavrenti Beria:

> We propose a policy of peace and we are prepared to conclude non-aggression pacts in pursuance of this policy. We are prepared to enter into an agreement for disarmament. There you have a basis for agreement. . . . Our relations with capitalist countries are based on the belief

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WOODCUTS BY A C

SOWING (Cycle of Work)

WOODCUTTERS

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TENDING THE HERD

AGRICULTURE

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the two opposing systems can exist side by side. The Soviet Union needs many goods and commodities produced in the West. Britain and America need Soviet goods. Stalin made that point in 1927. Now we have far greater opportunities for business. We are concerned to consider co-operation on a mutually advantageous footing with the U.S., Great Britain, France and other imperialist countries.

All the newspapers found it interesting and convenient to quote was the passage in which, after making these proposals and analysing American anti-Soviet policy, Beria warned would-be aggressors against repeating Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R.

Why this concealment of a plain and straightforward Soviet offer, if the Tories and their allies were so concerned for disarmament and for abatement of the cold war? The reason became obvious on November 8, when the details of the much-heralded Western ' plan ' became known, accompanied by a torrent of sanctimonious platitudes from President Truman on the radio and a viciously anti-Soviet speech from Secretary Acheson at the Assembly. It should be on record that the provocative purpose of the latter was not hidden from those present at Paris. The *Manchester Guardian's* diplomatic correspondent mentioned some regret that Acheson ' had set so belligerent a tone for the first day's debate ' and the view that his speech did little to make Russia's acceptance of the Western ' Plan ' more likely. Similarly the *News Chronicle* correspondent wrote of ' a fighting speech which could hardly be said to have encouraged Soviet acceptance '. It was left for the *Daily Herald* to tell its readers (Nov. 9) that Mr. Acheson had made a ' reasoned appeal ' which was ' quiet and earnest '.

And what were the much heralded ' Western ' proposals? They were in essence (i) that the ' first and indispensable step ' should be complete disclosure (by stages) of armed forces and armaments, including atomic, and that this information should be verified ' by inspectors who are nationals of other countries ' (ii) that *while this is going on* the nations should work out a programme for the ' regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments ' and for restricting the proportion of national production which ' could be used for military purposes ' (iii) that the ' United Nations plan ' for control of atomic energy should serve as the basis for the atomic energy aspects of this programme. And meanwhile, rearmament is to go on.

Thus at a time when the United States has bomber bases all round the world, when its informed public men and generals boast

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

daily of its superiority in stocks of atom bombs, when the Soviet armed forces are barely half those of the U.S.A., U.K. and France, when the U.S.A. has military alliances with satellite states all round the borders of the U.S.S.R., and the one thing lacking—how often has it been proclaimed—is real information as to the resources of the U.S.S.R., the location of its factories, new mines, railways, etc., the Soviet Government is to *begin* by throwing open all this information to its declared enemies, still armed to the teeth! And this without the slightest guarantee in reality that the 'balanced reduction' will eventually be agreed upon; or that the restriction in its national production demanded of it will not be such as to cripple completely the construction of a Communist society—after all, the entire iron and steel, cement, engineering, chemical, and several other industries 'could be used for military purposes'! And, to cap it all, the Baruch 'plan'—ownership of all atomic resources and production in all countries by an international commission with a capitalist majority, postponement of any reduction in atom bomb stock-piling by the U.S.A. until that commission (i.e. the U.S.A.) is satisfied that the U.S.S.R. possesses no more bombs—is served up under the disguise of the 'United Nations plan' as the future basis of control (with a face-saving proviso that 'a better and more effective plan' *might* be devised)! In other words, 'dilly, dilly, dilly, come and be killed'. No more impudent imposture, no more blatant 'gold brick' fraud, has ever been offered to a spoofed public for its deception; and the preliminary ballyhoo, described earlier, only brings out all the more clearly the purpose of its American share-pushing authors. *The Times* editorial on November 9 hit the nail on the head when it said that these proposals 'suffer from the defect', like the conduct of politics in a General Election, that 'the competition for votes and the wish to outwit one's opponent tend to blur the distinction between what is desirable and what is possible'.

But it would be wrong to suppose that the opponent whom the proposers had in mind was the U.S.S.R. Only an imbecile could suppose that the Soviet Government, which has survived so many attempts to destroy it, would now capitulate to this piece of political brigandage. Even *The Times*, in an editorial on November 2, said, on atomic energy, that 'if ever a system of international control could be established, it might be nearer to the Russian plan than to the arrangement proposed by Mr. Baruch'. No, it was the unfortunate peoples of Britain and America whom Truman, Acheson

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Co. seek to bamboozle and bewilder by shouts that 'Russia Rejects Plan For Disarmament' (*The Times*, November 9), 'Russia rejects arms plan' (*Telegraph*), 'Vyshinsky laughs at plan for Arms Cut' (*News Chronicle*) and so forth. It is the terrible British voters who want peace, the millions of people who suspected in the election that the Tories are warmongers, whom the American masters and their British servants want to throw off the scent. Acheson and his British lackeys don't want peace: they want to talk about peace while continuing their preparations for war. And the proof of this stands out very clearly from the bare-faced lies about the Soviet attitude to international inspection which they sold the ignorant British reporters in Paris and elsewhere for reproduction, no doubt in all innocence, in their newspapers.

Verification is so important in the scheme, cabled the *Daily Telegraph* diplomatic correspondent on November 7, because 'Russia has rejected any proposals that atomic production data in Russia should be verified by independent observers'. On the same day the *Daily Herald* reporter in Paris cabled: "Hitherto the Russians have rejected checking of arms and armed forces'. The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent said that progress during the last five years had been banned by 'the Societ Union's refusal to accept . . . adequate inspection of their armed forces and armaments'.

Yet in June, 1947, the Soviet Union already proposed full inspection of atomic enterprises in all countries, both periodic and whenever there was a suspicion of violation of the proposed convention prohibiting atomic weapons: and both in August 1947 and August 1949 it explained its view that the international control body could make such inspections by a simple majority decision, *not* subject to veto (full details in *The Soviet Union at the 5th Session of U.N.O., 1950*, 'Soviet News', 3d.). In February 1949 the Soviet Union tabled still more extensive disarmament proposals, under which *both* atomic disarmament *and* general reduction of armaments and armed forces were to be integrated in a single plan: destruction of *both* armaments *and* the atomic weapon was to be supervised by the proposed international inspecting commission: and the conventions for prohibiting atomic weapons and instituting international inspection *were to go into force simultaneously*. Thus every word of what the British and American inspirers of public opinion told the correspondents was a falsehood.

Moreover, the same proposal of February, 1949, provided that—

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if the other sections were adopted—the five Great Powers should submit, *before all the rest took effect* (March 31, 1949), 'full data on armed forces and on all types of armaments, including the atomic weapon'. And what else would the international inspectors be doing, when they supervised the 'measures to reduce armaments and armed forces and on the prohibition of the atomic weapon', than verifying—to quote the Western 'plan' of November 7—'the adequacy and accuracy of the information'? But the difference between the repeated Soviet proposals and the precious Acheson spoof plan is that, by the Soviet scheme, a scheme for destruction of atomic bombs and for reduction of armaments would begin to operate *simultaneously* with the inspection: while by the Acheson trick the imperialist Powers would get to know all Soviet secrets without a single step to reduce armaments or destroy atom bombs.

Well might Vyshinsky ridicule the Acheson scheme as 'a mountain which has given birth to a mouse—and a dead mouse'. His own proposals once again offered a basis for negotiations in that they did not require from the other side any preliminary weakening of their position, and insisted on parallel and practical steps to move forward to peace. These steps were perfectly straightforward. The abandonment of the aggressive Atlantic Pact; which allies Britain with Fascist Greece and Turkey, and is ruining her economy by the crushing £4,700 million arms burden; a ceasefire in Korea, withdrawal of all armies from the 38th parallel in 10 days—thus creating a broad zone of peace—and withdrawal of foreign troops in 3 months; a general conference on disarmament not later than June next year; and in preparation, a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers—which would ensure the success of the Disarmament Conference, on the lines of the February, 1949, proposals.

Only warmongers, such as the British people feared on October 25, would reject such proposals. And only the British people, by taking up with renewed energy the fight for disarmament and peace, developing into a victorious attack the rebuff they inflicted on the Tories and their right-wing Labour allies in the General Election, can compel the warmongers to stop talking of peace and to begin making it.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A CONVERSATION WITH COLONEL RAYMOND ROBINS

[*We are pleased to print this Stalin—Robins conversation (of May* 13, 1933) *which has been specially translated for* Labour Monthly *from the abbreviated transcript in the recently published Thirteenth Volume of Stalin's Collected Works. Colonel Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia in* 1918, *was an opponent of Allied intervention. Through him, in May of that year, the Soviet Government made an offer of economic relations with the U.S.A.—Ed. L.M.*]

Stalin: What can I do for you ?

Robins: I consider it a great honour to have the opportunity of visiting you.

Stalin: There is nothing special in that. You exaggerate.

Robins: The most interesting thing for me is that throughout Russia I have found everywhere the names Lenin-Stalin, Lenin-Stalin, Lenin-Stalin, together.

Stalin: Here there is also an exaggeration. How can I be compared with Lenin ?

Robins: Will it also be an exaggeration to say that the oldest government in the world during all this time is the government of Soviet Russia—the Council of People's Commissars ?

Stalin: That, perhaps is no exaggeration.

Robins: What is interesting and important is that this government has not moved in its work in a reactionary direction, and that the government which Lenin set up has turned out to be strong. It resists all hostile lines.

Stalin: That is true.

Robins: At the May Day demonstration I felt extremely clearly and sharply the development of Russia after 15 years, for I was present at the May Day demonstration in 1918, and now in 1933.

Stalin: We have succeeded in doing something in recent years. But 15 years is a long time.

Robins: Nevertheless, in the life of a State it is a short period for such great progress as Soviet Russia has achieved in this time.

Stalin: We could have done more, but did not succeed in doing so.

Robins: It is interesting to compare the basic motives, the basic lines in the two demonstrations. The demonstration of 1918 was addressed to the outside world, to the world proletariat, with a call

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the international proletariat for revolution. Now the motive is different. Now, men, women and youth went to the demonstration in order to proclaim: this is the country that we are building, this is the country that we shall defend with all our strength.

Stalin: The demonstration then was agitational, but now it is a summing up.

Robins: You probably know that during these 15 years I have been very interested in the establishment of rational mutual relations between our two countries, and have striven for the removal of the existing hostile attitude of the ruling circles of America.

Stalin: I knew of this in 1918 from the words of Lenin, and afterwards on the basis of facts. I know it.

Robins: I have come here as a purely private citizen and speak only for myself. My visit has as its main aim to establish the prospects of relations, to establish the actual facts in relation to the ability and creative inventive capacity of the Russian workers. Anti-Soviet propaganda says that the Russian worker is lazy, that the Russian worker does not know how to work, that machines perish in his hands, that such a country has no future. I want to combat this propaganda not only with words, but with the facts in my hands.

The second question that interests me in this connection is that of the situation in agriculture. It is being asserted that industrialisation has ruined agriculture, that the peasants have ceased to sow and have ceased to harvest grain. Every year it is asserted that Russia this year will certainly die of famine. I would like to know the facts about agriculture in order to refute these assertions. I count on seeing the areas where new crops have been sown this year for the first time. What especially interests me is the development of the basic grain crops of the Soviet Union.

The third question which interests me is the question of education, the development of children and youth and their upbringing. How far has popular education developed in art and literature, what is called creative genius, inventive capacity. In America it is allowed that there are two types of creativeness—one is the creativeness of the study room, and the other is the broad creativeness of life, a manifestation of the creative spirit in life. I am interested in how children and youth develop. I want to see in reality how they study, how they are brought up and develop.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the first and third questions I have already made some valuable observations and I expect to get additional data. On the second question, regarding the development of agriculture, I count on being able to see the real facts during my trip to Magnitogorsk and from there to Rostov, Kharkov and back. I hope to look at collective farms and to see how the archaic strip cultivation is being abolished and a large-scale agriculture is developing.

Stalin: Do you require my opinion ?

Robins: Yes, I would like to know your opinion.

Stalin: The remark that the Soviet worker is by nature incapable of coping with machines and breaks them, is quite incorrect.

On this score I ought to say that we have no such phenomena as occurred in Western Europe and America, when the workers deliberately smashed up the machines because the machines deprived them of their bit of bread. Our workers have no such attitude to machinery, because machines are being introduced by us on a mass scale in conditions where there is no unemployment, and because the machines do not deprive the workers of bread, as with you, but lighten their labour.

As regards lack of ability to work, the unculturedness of the workers, it is true that we have few cultured workers and they do not cope with machinery as well as in Europe or America. But with us this is a temporary phenomenon. If, for example, one were to study the question of where, in the course of history, the workers more quickly learnt to master new technical equipment—whether in Europe, America or in Russia during the last five years—I think that in Russia the workers have learnt more quickly in spite of their low level of culture. The mastery of the production of wheeled tractors in the West took several years, though of course technique was well developed there. Here this was mastered more quickly. For example, in Stalingrad and Kharkov the production of tractors was mastered in some 12-14 months. At present the Stalingrad Tractor Factory is not only working to planned capacity, not only produces 144 tractors per day, but sometimes produces 160, that is, it turns out more than its planned capacity. This I take as an example. Our tractor industry is new, it did not exist previously. The same thing holds of our aviation industry—a a new delicate business, it was also quickly mastered. The automobile industry is in a similar position from the point of view of rapidity in mastery. And the same with the production of machine tools.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In my opinion, this rapid mastery of the production of machines is explained, not by the special abilities of Russian workers, but by the fact that in our country the production of aeroplanes, for example, of engines for them, of tractors, automobiles and machine tools, is considered to be not the private concern of the individual, but a public concern. In the West the workers produce to earn a wage, and for the rest they care little. With us production is regarded as a social matter, a public matter, it is considered a matter of honour. That is why in our country new technique is being mastered so quickly.

Altogether, I consider it is impossible to talk as though the workers of some particular nation were incapable of mastering new technique. If we look at the matter from a racial point of view, then in America, for example, the Negroes are considered 'the last of men,' but they master technique not worse than the whites. The question of the mastery of technique by the workers of a particular nation is not a biological question, not a question of heredity, but a question of time; today they have not mastered it, tomorrow they will learn and master it. Everyone can master technique, including even the bushman, provided he is helped.

Robins: There is also required the aspiration, the desire to master.

Stalin: Of course. The Russian workers have more than sufficient desire and aspiration. They consider the mastery of new technique as a matter of honour.

Robins: I have already felt this in your factories where I have seen that as a result of Socialist emulation there is a new ardour coming into being, a new aspiration that money could never buy, because the workers expect from their work something better and greater than money can give.

Stalin: That is true. It is a matter of honour.

Robins: I shall take with me to America diagrams showing the development of labour inventiveness and the workers' creative proposals, which improve output and result in considerable economies in production. I have seen the portraits of a number of such worker-inventors who have given the Soviet Union very much in regard to improving production and in economies.

Stalin: Relatively many such workers have developed among us, they are very capable people.

Robins: I have been in all your largest factories of Moscow—AMO, the Ball-Bearing Works, the Fraser plant and others, and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

everywhere I found organisations for increasing the inventiveness of the workers. The toolroom in a number of these factories specially impressed me, because these departments provide most valuable tools for their factories, and the workers in them exert their capacities to the utmost, showing all their creative initiative and achieving amazing results.

Stalin: In spite of that we have shortcomings too. We have few skilled workers yet we need very many of them. Our technical personnel is also small. Every year the number of such personnel is growing, nevertheless it is less than is required. The Americans have helped us much. This has to be admitted. They have helped better than others and more courageously than others. Thanks are due to them for that.

Robins: I have seen an internationalism in your enterprises which made a very strong impression on me. The management in your factories is ready to take the technical achievements of any country—France, America, Britain or Germany—without any prejudices regarding these countries. And it seems to me that just this internationalism will enable all the advantages of the machines of other countries to be combined in one machine, and the creation of more perfect machines.

Stalin: This will happen.

On the second question, about the allegation that industrialisation is ruining agriculture, this is also an incorrect notion. Industrialisation is not ruining, but is saving our agriculture, saving the peasant. A few years ago we had a greatly fragmented, small and very small peasant economy. With the growth of fragmentation of the land, the peasant plots had dwindled to such an extent that there was no place to put a hen. Add to this the primitive agricultural implements, such as the wooden plough and an emaciated horse, which were incapable not only of ploughing up virgin soil, but even of ploughing the usual, not very soft soil, and you will have a picture of the degradation of agriculture. Three or four years ago we had in the U.S.S.R. nearly seven million wooden ploughs. What alternative was left for the peasants? Either to lie down and die or to go over a new form of using the soil and to work the land with machines. This, in fact, is what explains why the call of the Soviet Government to the peasants which took place just at this time—to unite their small plots of land in large land units and to accept from the Government tractors, harvesting machinery and threshing machines for working

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these large land units, for gathering and threshing the harvest—found a very lively response among the peasants. It is understandable that the peasants seized on the proposal of the Soviet Government, and began to unite their plots of land into large fields, accepted the tractors and other machines and thus adopted the broad path of large scale agriculture, the new path of a radical improvement of agriculture.

It follows that industrialisation as a result of which the peasants receive tractors and other machines, has saved the peasants, has saved agriculture.

The process of amalgamation of small peasant farms by villages into large farms is called by us collectivisation, and the amalgamated big farms themselves collective farms. Collectivisation is considerably facilitated by the absence in our country of private property in land, by the nationalisation of the land. The land is handed over to the collective farms for use in perpetuity. Owing to the absence of private property in land, sale and purchase of land does not occur, and all this facilitates considerably the formation and development of collective farms.

I do not mean to say that all this, i.e. collectivisation and so forth, is proceeding smoothly. There are difficulties, of course, and not small ones. Collectivisation, like every great new undertaking, has not only friends, but also enemies. In spite of this, the overwhelming majority of the peasants are nevertheless in favour of collectivisation, and the number of its opponents is becoming less and less.

Robins : Every advance is made at a certain cost, and this we take into account and include in our calculations.

Stalin : But in spite of these difficulties, one thing is clear—and I have not the slightest doubt about this fact: 19/20 of the peasantry have recognised, and the majority of the peasants accept the fact with great joy, that the collectivisation of agriculture has become a fact, from which there can be no returning. So that this has now been achieved. The predominant form of agriculture in our country now is the collective farm. If you take the figures for sowing or harvesting, the figures of grain production, at the present time the individual peasants provide only some 10-15 per cent of the whole grain harvest. The rest comes from the collective farms.

Robins : I am interested in the question, is it true that the gathering of last year's harvest was unsatisfactorily carried out, that at the present time the sowing campaign is proceeding satisfactorily while last year the harvesting proceeded unsatisfactorily ?

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stalin : Last year harvesting proceeded less satisfactorily than in the preceding year.

Robins : I have read your speeches, and it follows from them, I think, that this year the harvest will be more successful.

Stalin : In all probability it will proceed much better.

Robins : I think that you do not value less than I do the very great achievement represented by the fact that you have succeeded in industrialising agriculture, while no other country has been able to do so. Agriculture in all capitalist countries is experiencing a profound crisis and is in need of industrialisation. The capitalist countries manage to cope with industrial production in one way or another, but not one of them is able to cope with agriculture. It is a great achievement of the Soviet Union that it has undertaken the solution of this problem, and is successfully coping with it.

Stalin : Yes, that is a fact.

Such are our achievements and shortcomings in the sphere of agriculture. Now to the third question—concerning the education of children and of the youth as a whole. Our youth is good and lives joyfully. Our State differs from all other States in that it does not grudge the resources for proper care of children and good education of the youth.

Robins : In America they consider that in your country the development of the child is restricted by definite rigid limits, and that these limits do not leave freedom for the development of creative spirit and freedom of mind. Do you not consider that freedom for the development of the creative spirit, the freedom to express what one is able to, has extremely great importance ?

Stalin : First, regarding limitations—this is not true. The second is true. Undoubtedly the child cannot develop its abilities under a regime of restriction and narrow regimentation, without the necessary freedom and encouragement of initiative. As regards the youth, all paths are open to it, and in our country it can freely perfect itself. In our country children are not beaten, they are punished very seldom, they are given the opportunity of choosing what they prefer, they are given the opportunity of entering on the path that they themselves choose. I think that nowhere is there such care for the child, for its upbringing and development, as among us in the Soviet Union.

Robins : Is it possible to consider that, as a result of the fact that people of the new generation have been freed of the burden of want, have been freed from the terror of economic conditions, this libera-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion should lead to a new flourishing of creative energy, to a flourishing of new art, to a new rise in culture and art, which were formerly hampered by all these shackles.

Stalin : That is undoubtedly true.

Robins : I am not a Communist and do not understand very much of Communism, but I would like America to participate in, to have the opportunity of associating itself with, this development which is taking place here in Soviet Russia, and that Americans should have this opportunity by means of recognition, by means of the granting of credits, by means of establishing normal mutual relations between the two countries, for example in the Far East, so as to safeguard the great daring venture which is taking place in your country, so that it may reach its successful completion.

Stalin : I thank you for your good wishes.

Robins : Among my closest friends is Senator Borah, who has been the most consistent friend of the Soviet Union and who has been fighting for its recognition among the leaders of the American State.

Stalin : That is true, he does much to promote the establishment of normal relations between our two countries. But up to now, unfortunately, he has not been successful.

Robins : I am convinced that all the real facts are helping now, more strongly than at any time during the past 15 years, towards the establishment of normal mutual relations between our two countries.

Stalin : That is true. But there is one fact which hinders it. Britain hinders it, in my opinion.

Robins : That is undoubtedly so. Nevertheless the situation forces us above all to follow our own interests, and the conflict between our own interests and that which other countries are foisting on us, at the present time more than at any other, impels America to establish such mutual relations. We are interested in the development of American exports. The only big market with great possibilities, which have not been really utilised by anyone hitherto is the Russian market. American businessmen, if they wished, could give long term credits. They are interested in tranquility in the Far East which nothing could promote more than the establishment of normal mutual relations with the Soviet Union. In this connection the declaration of Mr. Litvinov, made by him in Geneva, on the question of defining an aggressor country, follows entirely the line of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, which has played a

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

powerful rôle in the question of peace. American interests lie in the stabilisation of mutual economic relations throughout the world, and we know very well that it is impossible to achieve normal mutual economic relations as long as the Soviet Union is outside the general economic system.

Stalin : All this is true.

Robins : I was and remain an incorrigible optimist. I believed in the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution as long as fifteen years ago. They were then depicted as agents of German imperialism, in particular Lenin was considered a German agent. But I considered and continue to consider Lenin a very great man, the very greatest leader in all world history.

I hope that the information which I have received at first hand may perhaps promote the realisation of the plan of rapprochement and co-operation between our two countries about which I spoke.

Stalin : May it be so.

Robins : I consider there is nothing higher and more magnificent than to participate in the building of a new world, to participate in what we are now engaged in. Participation in the creation and building of a new world is a fact of the greatest significance not only now, but for thousands of years to come.

Stalin: All the same this matter presents great difficulties.

Robins : I am very grateful to you for giving me your attention.

Stalin : I thank you for having remembered the Soviet Union after 15 years and for having visited it.

We should still be glad to receive back numbers. Among recent issues particularly wanted are: June and October 1948; April 1949; January 1951.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERNST THAELMANN'S LETTER FROM PRISON — II

(continued from November issue)

WHO can measure the endurance and patience which we have summoned up in these long years of imprisonment?

Who can imagine the tragic fate whose blows we were able to withstand only because we did not allow it to throw us from our course? At times our prison existence drove us to the limits of endurance, filled to the brim by all sorts of disappointments, but in the violent elements let loose we remained firm, determined and indomitable.

By casting our minds back the past appeared before us like living reality. I have set down here some of the individual significant phases of the hard prison life but this is only a fraction of what has been lived through.

You have had to give the best years of your youth, sacrifice them and now you have reached maturity; whereas I have had to sacrifice the most active years of my maturity to prison life, and I am now facing the age when vitality begins to wane. The bitter years behind bars have robbed you of the precious joy of youth. The years of my youth were great and free, but at the same time they were the prelude to my present prison life.

Remember that life makes people take up the struggle not in order to be vanquished, but to master it, to understand its harsh but inevitable language, and then rise rejuvenated from the abyss to a new life. What we have lived through is irrevocable; what the future has in store for us we cannot know for certain, we can only surmise.

My fate lies in the hub of world events, in the heat of the present political atmosphere and in the main stream of toiling humanity. But how many of our courageous Socialist fellow-fighters, who are enjoying the respite of liberty and there carrying out their revolutionary duties, are constantly and immediately faced by the same danger? Today, tomorrow, or the day after, if they are caught in their revolutionary activities and actions, the merciless blow will fall upon them. Revolutionary history is cruel and demands harsh sacrifices. That applies not only to us, but to some extent also to the others. But for what—for the sake of what? That is the ques-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion which today interests millions of people who are engaged in a fierce and ruthless struggle.

It is an important historical question which at present—one way or the other—agitates almost all toiling humanity. In the focus of this historical question lies my own case. I am not a recluse estranged from the world. I am a German with great national, and also international, experience. My people, the people to which I belong and which I love, is the German people; my nation, which I proudly admire, is the German nation, a valiant, proud and staunch nation. I am of one blood and one flesh with the German workers and that is why, as a son of the revolutionary class, I later became its revolutionary leader. My life and labour knew and know only one thing: to devote my mind and my knowledge, my experience and my activity, my whole being, in the interests of the toiling German people, for the benefit of Germany's future, of the victorious Socialist liberation struggle, for a new renaissance of the German nation.

As a seaman I went to America and England, visited almost all the main capitals of the Europe and other parts of the world and in this way broadened my knowledge of life and multiplied my experiences. At the many conferences and congresses of the Communist International in which I participated I came into close contact with outstanding leaders of almost all people inhabiting the globe. On these occasions I had the opportunity to study, and thoroughly acquaint myself with, the manner and customs, the language, nature and character, the political, social and revolutionary life of the most diverse people of the world. The life and everyday conditions of the German worker, office worker and official, of the small shopkeeper and artisans, of the working peasants and of the working intelligentsia I know from the extensive experience of my own life. For 22 years I worked as an unskilled labourer in a variety of trades. . .

The martyrdom which I took upon myself and which is being endured for the sake of the great Socialist ideas of the twentieth century, is not a separate and isolated occurrence, divorced from the German people, but is shared by many, many anonymous fellow-prisoners (of whom you, dear Comrade, are one) and it is echoed in the life of a mighty movement of millions which has embraced and inspired the entire people in the Socialist Soviet Union and which has spread ideologically and organisationally in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many parts of the world. Only in relation to this fact, coupled with the political and military developments of the war, which will not be treated here but which form a special chapter with which I shall deal later, is it possible to discuss my future life.

None can predict what will or may happen to me tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. We can't know whether—as so often before—I will not be subjected to new hardships and sufferings. Will I be allowed to return without more ado out of my prison banishment into the big world? NO! Voluntarily they will certainly not do that. The probability exists—however cruel and bitter it is to speak of it—that with the further advance of the Soviet armies and with the further deterioration of the German general military situation, the National Socialist régime will do everything possible to checkmate Thaelmann. In such a situation the Hitler régime will not hesitate to remove Thaelmann in good time, to do away with him, finish him off altogether. Only the historically necessary action can bring about a different solution, one that will be of benefit to the revolutionary movement.

The history of our life is stern and therefore it demands all of the individual. You, I, and all comrades-in-arms in the struggle for our great cause must all be strong, staunch, militant and confident of the future. For to be a soldier of the revolution means to give unswerving loyalty to the cause, a loyalty that stands the test of life and of death; it means that one must display unconditional reliability, confidence, fighting courage and energy for action in any situation. The flame which surrounds us, which lights up our hearts and fills our minds will guide us like a beacon on the battlefields of our life.

Loyal and firm, strong in character and confident of victory in action, in this way, and *only* in this way will we be able to master our destiny, to carry out our revolutionary duties in the great historic mission which is enjoined upon us and to help bring about the final victory of true Socialism.

'Yes! To this thought am I devoted wholly,
As Wisdom's final word, profound and true:
Freedom and life itself will he earn only,
Who day by day must conquer them anew'.

With revolutionary greetings, Your faithful socialist fellow-fighter and staunch comrade in common fate.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AFRICA

Attitude to Africa, by W. Arthur Lewis, Michael Scott, Martin Wight, Colin Legum. (156 pp. Penguin Books. 2*s*.)

WHAT is to be the attitude of the British Government and people towards Africa and its peoples in face of the growing tensions that are crowding upon the African scene? The four authors, who no doubt would be popularly described as 'liberal-minded', set out in this book to discuss some of the most vital problems confronting imperialism in Africa today. These are nationalisms, both black and white, multi-racial or 'plural' societies. peasant agriculture and the special case of the High Commission Territories of Southern Africa. They suggest lines of policy which they hope will be followed by any British government—any government that is, which is concerned with the preservation of the imperial connexion. 'Africa', they warn, 'represents our last great chance of serving the interests of dependent peoples'. And haunted by the spectre of Communism and disturbed by the thought that 'Africans are not likely to be impressed by warnings that their democratic rights are at stake'. they appeal for sweet reasonableness from the white settlers and for a firm statement of policy by the Government based on a joint declaration by the majority of Labour, Conservative and Liberal members of Parliament. But colonialism has long since disappeared from the field of party conflict. And the problem of the white minorities can be settled only when the black majorities exercise their full rights.

The dilemma of the authors leads them finally to issue a mystical appeal to young and capable British people, particularly those with technical training, to devote their lives to the service of their fellow men in

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

ESTABLISHED 1936

Volume XV, No. 4—Fall, 1951

CONTENTS

WARTIME AND POSTWAR PATTERNS OF LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMY
Herman Olden

THE CONSCIOUS AND THE UNCONSCIOUS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
Michael Lane

A FRENCH ADVENTURER AND AMERICAN EXPANSIONISM AFTER THE CIVIL WAR
A. Landy

NOTES ON THE NEW CHINESE CULTURE
I. Epstein

FIRST POLISH CONGRESS OF SCIENCE
Margaret Schlauch

REVIEWS BY :
V. Gordon Childe, W. E. B. DuBois, Dirk J. Struik, Charles Madison, Eda Lou Walton, Vera Shlakman, Eric Hobsbawm and others.

Quarterly, 50 cents Single Copy
$2.00 per year ($2.50 foreign)

SCIENCE & SOCIETY
30 EAST 20TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

English Representative :
COLLET'S LTD.
40 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1., ENGLAND.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Africa. They may thus influence the course of history in that continent, we are told. The fact is that more and more Africans are coming to realise that they must direct the course of their future history. That is the essence of the challenge to imperialism in Africa.

DESMOND BUCKLE

RUMANIA

The New Life in Rumania, by E. V. Tempest. (58 pp. Excel Printing Co. 2*s.*)

THIS is a remarkably clear little book, full of information. It gives the essential background of the new Rumania, enabling the reader both to understand Rumania better if he visits it, and to understand the descriptions of life in 1951 better if he does not visit it. The description of life to day is vivid, and conveys much of the fascination of the new country. It is a country with advantages and disadvantages that distinguish it substantially from some of its neighbours. It rid itself later than most of them of its old rulers; it had had to put up with corruption perhaps greater than any of them; its industries were highly 'colonial', and its industrial-agricultural balance pretty bad. On the other hand, it was and is really richer in natural resources than any of them.

The study of such a country, in such a period, is bound to be interesting, whether one compares it with its neighbours or not. Mr. Tempest really makes it live before the reader's eyes, and helps us to understand once again how fine ordinary people are, how well and quickly Socialist methods produce effects, what a good friend the Soviet Union is, and what a burden lies—or ought to lie—on the consciences of those who run the periodical publications which the British, with their incurable sense of fun, still call '*news*papers'.

D. N. PRITT.

"Your subscription is cement in the dyke we are all building against war and fascism," says SAMUEL SILLEN, editor of —

MASSES AND MAINSTREAM

America's Leading Progressive Cultural Monthly

—BATTLES on the cultural front for peace, freedom and a democratic people's culture.
—BRINGS its readers the finest in articles, essays, literary criticisms, stories, poetry, reportage, art.
—FEATURES American writers like Herbert Aptheker, W. E. B. DuBois, Lloyd L. Brown, Howard Fast, Barbara Giles, Michael Gold, Shirley Graham, John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Paul Robeson, Dalton Trumbo.
—PUBLISHES regularly Louis Aragon, Ilya Ehrenburg, Nazim Hikmet, Pablo Neruda, Martin Andersen Nexo, Anna Seghers, and other international literary figures.

——o——

Masses & Mainstream has won enthusiastic supporters in every part of the world. A subscription to *M. & M.* is something you owe yourself. Why not subscribe today? Only 34/- a year post paid to your address from U.S.A.

COLLET'S SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT

40 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

RETREAT FROM SOCIALISM TO CAPITALISM

The old Socialist teaching used to say that unemployment and poverty were inseparable from capitalism, and could only be solved by Socialism. The new teaching—we will not call it Socialist, but the new Liberal teaching of the Labour Party—lays it down that unemployment and poverty will first be solved under capitalism, and then the happy community will amble peacefully into Socialism in the distant future. The old Socialist teaching used to condemn capitalism as chaotic. The new Liberal teaching proposes to organise capitalism. The old Socialist teaching used to declare that capitalism robbed the workers and must therefore be overthrown. The new Liberal teaching declares that capitalism can give wealth to the workers and must therefore be built up. What is the practical significance of this change-over? It needs very little consideration to see that the practical significance of this 'new' policy, which coincides with the betrayal of the industrial fight, with the Liberalising of the Labour Party and with the whole defeatist stream of reformism at the present low ebb, lies, not in the sudden discovery of the urgency of the problem of poverty and the supposed advance from old-fashioned doctrinaire Socialism to 'practical' methods of dealing with poverty, but—*in the retreat from Socialism to capitalism, and in nothing else.*

From the **Notes of the Month,** December, 1926.

A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP, GOODWILL AND PEACE

Give a *Labour Monthly* Subscription Token and save money. Your friends will thank you for it all through the year.

Fill in this form to get a Greetings Card Token, with the Editor's picture. Post it to your friend to announce that *Labour Monthly* will arrive, post free, on the first of each month from January 1st.

Half Year Token, 7s. 6d. One Year Token, 15s.
Two Tokens, £1 10s. Three Tokens, £2 2s.

BUT DO IT *NOW* !

I enclose ..... for ..... yearly subscription(s) to be sent to my friend(s)

(1) *Name* ..... (2) *Name* .....
Address ..... *Address* .....
....

Please send the Greeting Card Token(s) to me,
(Signed) .....
Address .....

To THE MANAGER, 134 BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index to Volume XXXIII

I—AUTHORS

		Page
ALLEN, C.	The Growing Revolt in the Middle East	37
	The Persian Upsurge	271
ANGUS, JOHN	Burma's Road to Freedom	178
ARNOT, R. PAGE	Re-Militarising West Germany and Japan	65
	Unpublished Letters of William Morris (I) and (II)	325, 431
BERNAL, J. D., F.R.S.	The Way to Peace	12
	Britain for Peace	157
	30th Anniversary Greeting	339
BOSE, D. K.	Novel about India (Review)	494
	Kashmir and the Conspiracy against Peace (Review)	496
BOUGHTON, RUTLAND	30th Anniversary Greeting	341
BOYD, ANDREW	Ulster Jingoism (Review)	287
BRIGHT, RICHARD	Road to Economic Ruin	474
BROWN, ISABEL	Dimitrov the Hero (Review)	447
BUCK, TIM	30th Anniversary Greeting	335
BUSH, ALAN	Battle of Ideas (Review)	284
E.B.	Co-operative Pamphlets (Review)	240
R.B.	Greek Army (Review)	286
CACHIN, MARCEL	30th Anniversary Greeting	335
CAMPBELL, J. R.	Rearmament's Bitter Fruits	426
CARR, MALCOLM	Mediterranean Rivals	533
CARTER, ALAN	Half the Story (Review)	492
CARTER, F.	The American Way of Life (Review)	46
CARTER, JOHN	Where Tories Rule—in New Zealand	481
CHILDE, V. GORDON	30th Anniversary Greeting	342
CLEGG, ARTHUR	New China as I Saw It	370
CLEGG, NELL	A Dutchman's Notion of History (Review)	347
COLLINS, HENRY	A Survey of the 18th Century (Review)	346
S.C.	Merchants of Death (I) and (II)	185, 234
DAVIES, S. O., M.P.	Labour and Rearmament	253
	30th Anniversary Greeting	389
	Labour's New Fight	559
DEAN OF CANTERBURY	30th Anniversary Greeting	340
DOCUMENT OF THE MONTH	Ten Points for Peace	41
	Overthrowing the Constitution of the United States	394
DUTT, CLEMENS	Marx and Engels (Review)	141
	An Exposure of False Philosophies (Review)	343
	Asiatic Republics of the U.S.S.R. (Review)	397
	World Chess Champion (Review)	533
	Bacon (Review)	538
DUTT, R. PALME	Notes of the Month: After Washington	1
	Notes of the Month: Hands Off Europe	49
	Notes of the Month: Let the Lions Roar	97
	Notes of the Month: Break This Net of Lies	145
	Notes of the Month: Price of War	193
	Notes of the Month: What Programme for Labour?	241
	Notes of the Month: Three Decades	289
	Notes of the Month: The Great Debate	353
	Notes of the Month: The Right to Live	401
	Notes of the Month: The Unjust Society	451
	Notes of the Month: The Great Contrast	497
	Notes of the Month: Into Battle	545
	A Pious Informer (Review)	137
EATON, JOHN	Socialism and Steel	75
	Budgeting for War	209
	A Cold War Sybil (Review)	350
ELLIOTT, LON	Pablo Neruda (Review)	239
	A Botanist on Lysenko (Review)	143
ENGLAND, E. R.	Marx on China (Review)	543
EVANS, REV. STANLEY G.	Sermon in St. Paul's	525
FALCONER, A. H.	Three Wizards Came Sailing (Review)	191
FAST, HOWARD	30th Anniversary Greeting	389
FIGGINS, J. B.	30th Anniversary Greeting	340
FOSTER, W. Z.	30th Anniversary Greeting	336
FREEMAN, DICK	Focus on Peace (Review)	48
	Communication	91
GALLACHER, WILLIAM	May Day and Youth	204
	30th Anniversary Greeting	339
	World Youth Festival	422
	Foster on the Americas (Review Article)	486
	Poland (Review)	540
	Lessons of the Election	562

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Page
GOLLAN, JOHN	Frankfurt 'International'	382
GOSSIP, A. A.	30th Anniversary Greeting	341
HANNINGTON, WAL	A Notable Record (Review)	44
	Industrial Revolt	166
HORNER, ARTHUR	30th Anniversary Greeting	341
KAHN, ALBERT E.	Maiming the Young	263
KAHN, SAM, M.P.	30th Anniversary Greeting	390
KERRIGAN, PETER	Spain After 15 Years	320
KEUNEMAN, PIETER	30th Anniversary Greeting	337
KLUGMANN, JAMES	Mr. Truman's Tito	172
	Albania (Review)	544
KUUSINEN, HERTHA	30th Anniversary Greeting	338
LAUCHLAN, W.	A Scots Novel (Review)	144
LINDSAY, JACK	The New Man (Review)	541
LUCA, VASILE	Rumania's National Question Solved	440
MAHON, JOHN	A Visit to Hungary	226
MAO TSE-TUNG	Concerning Practice (I) and (II)	83, 128
MICHAELSON, D. A.	The Right to Strike	33
MONTAGU, IVOR	Truth and Peace	257
MORTON, A. L.	The Peasant Revolt (Review)	238
OBSERVER	A Telengana Prisoner Writes	214
PEET, JOHN	Open Letter to a Journalist in West Berlin	386
PIRATIN, PHIL	Tribune of the People (Review)	237
POLLITT, HARRY	Pollitt on T.A.J. (Review)	43
	30 Years of the Labour Monthly	311
PRITT, D. N., K.C.	Glimpses of India	62
	More Light on Korea	109
	The Right to Strike	301
	The Pakistan Trial	379
	30th Anniversary Greeting	390
	Glimpses of Popular Democracies	511
PURCELL, HENRY	Germany Armed or Disarmed?	162
	Trade Unions on the Move	367
A.G.P.	Shorter Notice (Peekskill)	544
H.G.S.P.	West Germany (Review)	191
QUÆSTOR	The Labour Government and Labour's Future	117
	Five Power Pact	316
	The Left at Blackpool	467
	Peace Moves—True and False	566
RAMELSON, MARION	Few Words, Deep Meaning (Review)	399
ROBESON, PAUL	30th Anniversary Greeting	390
ROTHSTEIN, ANDREW	Soviet Armed Forces—The Truth	415
	A Great American	530
ROTHSTEIN, THEODORE	30th Anniversary Greeting	342
SAVILLE, JOHN	A Survey of the 19th Century (Review)	345
SCHAFFER, GORDON	The True Story of West Germany (Review)	493
SHINIAYEV, V.	Letter from a Soviet Engineer	230
SLOAN, PAT	Communication	91
STALIN, J. V.	On the Morrow of the Revolution	508
	A Conversation with Col. Raymond Robins	574
STEWART, BOB	Rakosi Reports on Hungary (Review)	399
H.G.S.	Tribute to Alan Bush (Review)	400
TEH KAO	U.S. Imperialism	29
THAELMANN, ERNST	Letter from Prison, (I) and (II)	516, 583
THAPAR, ROMESH	30th Anniversary Greeting	338
THOMSON, GEORGE	Women and Communism (Review)	141
	Stalin on Linguistics (Review)	284
TODD, JUDITH	Without a Clue (Review)	47
	50,000 Outside the Law (Review)	400
TOGLIATTI, PALMIRO	30th Anniversary Greeting	333
TUCKETT, ANGELA	About Yourselves	351
	Circulation and Fund News	See Covers
TUCKETT, JOAN	China Sings (Review)	93
TURNER, R. T. F.	Chinese Art Today (Review)	96
TOLEDANO, V. L.	30th Anniversary Greeting	334
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO	32, 64, 136, 161, 213, 277, 430, 496, 529,	588
WEST, ALICK	A Critic of Literature (Review)	92
WESTGATE, R.	An Eye-Witness on New China (Review)	142
WINTERNITZ, J.	Critique of the Keynesian Theory (Review)	348
	The Minds of the Ruling Class (Review)	446
WODDIS, JACK	Booklets on China (Review)	239
W.H.W.	Trade Unionism (Review)	95

30th Anniversary Greetings (not appearing in Author Index): **African General Workers' Union**, 445; ***Bolshevik***, 342; ***Communist Party of India***, 491; **Drapeau Rouge**, 445; **Einheit**, 392; **For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy**, 333; **L'Humanité**, 392; **Masses and Mainstream**, 391; **People's Daily** (Peking), 337; **People's China**, 337; **Rabotnicesko Delo**, 391; **Rude Pravo**, 392; **Scanteia**, 393; **Szabad Nep**, 392; **Tribune** (Sydney), 391; **Trybuna Ludu**, 393.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

II—SUBJECTS

		Page
AMERICA, NORTH & SOUTH	Foster on the Americas (Review Article)	486
BURMA	Burma's Road to Freedom	178
CHINA	U.S. Imperialism	29
	Letter from Peking	218
	New China as I Saw It	370
	Marx on China (Review)	543
CO-OPERATIVES	Co-operative Pamphlets (Review)	240
ECONOMICS	Socialism and Steel	75
	Budgeting for War	209
	Road to Economic Ruin	474
GENERAL ELECTION	Into the Election Fight	449
	Lessons of the Election	562
GERMANY	Open Letter to a Journalist in West Berlin	386
	Ernst Thaelmann's Letters from Prison (I) and (II)	516, 583
ILLUSTRATIONS	Chinese Woodcuts, Cartoons, Stills and Pictures	72, 121, 284, 424, 472, 568
	Cartoons from Poland	169
	Letter from Telengana Prisoner	216
	Photograph of Ernst Thaelmann	520
HUNGARY	A Visit to Hungary	226
INDIA	Glimpses of India	62
	A Telengana Prisoner Writes	214
KOREA	More Light on Korea	109
LABOUR MONTHLY	Editorial Board Statements	24, 376
	30 Years of the Labour Monthly	311
	30th Anniversary Messages of Greeting (see list below)	333-342, 389-393, 445, 491
LABOUR PARTY	The Labour Government and Labour's Future	117
	The Left at Blackpool	467
	Labour's New Fight	559
MAY DAY	May Day and Youth	204
MIDDLE EAST	The Growing Revolt in the Middle East	37
	The Persian Upsurge	270
	Mediterranean Rivals	533
MILITARISATION	Re-Militarising W. Germany and Japan	65
	Merchants of Death, (I) and (II)	185, 234
	Rearmament's Bitter Fruits	426
MORGAN, LEWIS HENRY	A Great American	538
MORRIS, WILLIAM	Unpublished Letters, (I) and (II)	325, 431
NEW ZEALAND	Where Tories Rule—in New Zealand	481
OBITUARIES	William Henry Andrews, James Gray, George Allison	74, 448, 480
PAKISTAN	The Pakistan Trial	379
PEACE	The Way to Peace	12
	Ten Points for Peace	41
	Focus on Peace (Review)	43
	Britain for Peace	157
	Truth and Peace	257
	Five Power Pact	316
	Sermon in St. Paul's	525
	Peace Moves—True and False	566
PEOPLES' DEMOCRACIES	Glimpses of Popular Democracies	511
PHILOSOPHY	Concerning Practice	83, 128
POLAND	Poland (Review)	540
RUMANIA	Rumania's National Question Solved	440
SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY	Frankfurt 'International'	382
SPAIN	Spain After 15 Years	320
TRADE UNIONISM	The Right to Strike (Michaelson)	33
	Industrial Revolt	166
	The Right to Strike (Pritt)	301
	Trade Unions on the Move	367
UNITED STATES	Maiming the Young	263
	Overthrowing the Constitution of the United States	394
U.S.S.R.	Letter from a Soviet Engineer	230
	Soviet Armed Forces—The Truth	415
	On the Morrow of the Revolution	509
	A Conversation with Col. Raymond Robins	574
YOUTH	World Youth Festival	422
YUGOSLAVIA	Mr. Truman's Tito	172

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books Reviewed

Author or Editor	Title (and Reviewer)	Page
Azhayev, V.	**Far From Moscow** (Jack Lindsay)	541
Bonner, A.	**Economic Planning and the Co-operative Movement** (E.B.)	240
Botvinnik, M. M.	**One Hundred Selected Games** (C.P.D.)	543
Burchett, W. G.	**Cold War in Germany** (Gordon Schaffer)	493
Chinese Books	**Contemporary Chinese Woodcuts** (R. T. F. Turner)	96
	700 Millions for Peace and Democracy (Jack Woddis)	239
	Women in New China (Jack Woddis)	239
	The Sino-Soviet Treaty and Agreements (Jack Woddis)	239
Coates, W. P. and Z. K.	**Soviets in Central Asia** (Clemens Dutt)	297
Collins, H.	**Trade Unions Today** (W.H.W.)	95
Cornforth, M.	**In Defence of Philosophy** (C.P.D.)	343
Courtade, P.	**Albania** (James Klugmann)	544
Davidson, B.	**Once Again** (H.G.S.P.)	191
Dimitrov, G.	**Selected Speeches and Articles** (Isabel Brown)	447
Eaton, J.	**Marx Against Keynes** (J.W.)	348
England, B.	**Trade Union Problems** (W.H.W.)	95
Falconer, A.	**New China—Friend or Foe?** (R. Westgate)	142
Farrington, B.	**Francis Bacon** (Clemens Dutt)	538
Fast, H.	**Peekskill U.S.A.** (A.G.P.)	544
Fyfe, J.	**Lysenko is Right** (L.E.)	143
Gallacher, W.	**Rise Like Lions** (Phil Piratin)	238
Hamilton, M.	**Bull's Penny** (Wm. Lauchlan)	144
Harrod, R. F.	**The Life of J. M. Keynes** (J. Winternitz)	446
Hilton, R. H. and Fagan, H.	**The English Rising of 1381** (A. L. Morton)	239
Hyde, D.	**I Believed** (R. Palme Dutt)	137
Inkeles, A.	**Public Opinion in Soviet Russia** (Judith Todd)	47
Jain, J. C.	**I Could Not Save Bapu**	400
Jackson, T. A.	**Old Friends to Keep** (Harry Pollitt)	43
Jacobs, J.	**The London Trades Council** (Wal Hannington)	44
Krishen, R.	**Kashmir and the Conspiracy Against Peace** (D.K.B.)	495
Liu Shao-chi	**On the Party** (Jack Woddis)	239
Lukacs, G.	**Studies in European Realism** (Alick West)	92
Mao Tse-tung	**People's Democratic Dictatorship** (Marion Ramelson)	400
Martin, D.	**The Stones of Bombay** (Dilip Kumar Bose)	494
Torr, Dona	**Marx on China** (E. R. England)	543
Miscellany	**Eyewitness** (W. Gallacher)	540
	Women and Communism (George Thomson)	141
National Council Civil Liberties	**50,000 Outside the Law** (Judith Todd)	400
National Peace Council	**Two Worlds in Focus** (Dick Freeman)	48
Neruda, Pablo	**Let the Rail Splitter Awake** (Lon Elliott)	239
Plumb, J. H.	**England in the Eighteenth Century** (Henry Collins)	346
Rakosi, M.	**Report to the Second Congress of the Hungarian Working People's Party** (Bob Stewart)	399
Renier, G. J.	**History, Its Purpose and Method** (Nell Clegg)	347
Sarafis, S.	**Greek Resistance Army** (R.B.)	286
Schaffer, G.	**German Rearmament Leads to War** (H.G.S.P.)	191
Scott, M., and others	**Attitude to Africa** (Desmond Buckle)	566
Shearman, H.	**Ulster** (Andrew Boyd)	287
Stalin, J. V.	**Concerning Marxism in Linguistics** (George Thomson)	284
Tempest, E. V.	**The New Life in Rumania** (D. N. Pritt)	587
Thomson, D.	**England in the Nineteenth Century** (John Saville)	346
van der Sprenkel, etc.	**New China: Three Views** (A. H. Falconer)	192
Walker, W.	**The Consumer's Movement** (E.B.)	240
Ward, B.	**Policy for the West** (J.E.)	350
Warriner, D.	**Revolution in Eastern Europe** (Alan Carter)	492
Wong Man	**Poems from China** (Joan Tuckett)	95
Workers' Music Assn.	**Tribute to Alan Bush** (H.G.S.)	400
Zhdanov, A. A.	**On Literature, Music and Philosophy** (Alan Bush)	284

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Dorchester and District Newspapers Ltd. (T.U.), Dorchester, Great Britain. Registered for transmission by Magazine Post to Canada, including Newfoundland.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the index. Pick out the articles which would appeal to some friend or fellow worker. Send names and addresses and we will forward the particular back number with any greeting card you may enclose. And, since you *will* be spending money on greeting cards, why not make it a *L.M.* Subscription Token? (see p.588) or pamphlets? Finally, order your Bound Volumes early (see p.565) and make sure that this year you lend it, far and wide. I am eagerly collecting stories of efforts to raise circulation deserving the prize of 'Staffordshire's' precious copy of *Handbook of Marxism.* Scraps I hear from factories and places of work give a picture of lively arguments on how to carry further unity on the job during the election fight, to rid the movement of defeatism, to win a new Labour policy. Meanwhile hanging heads are lifting and voices raised which have been too long silent. Do our friends on the job realise vividly enough that with more new *L.M.* regular readers helping them, opinion would crystallize fast and the tide start to flow with a vengeance?

Hard work in the election meant many fund supporters were late with contributions (which will appear next month). One reader is late for a sadder cause; her joint donation with her mother must now be hers alone. This grand old lady, who wrote a few cheery lines each month, can write no more. But as her daughter taking that job over movingly says: 'Her memory will not fade; through her and hundreds and thousands of simple folk like her human progress is made possible'. Salute to Gertrude Philibert, who died in her 78th year just before the election.

£63 11s. 9d.

30th Birthday Presents received up to 31 October: £95 16s.

Stand-in money came from: D. Mayo, standing-in for Plymouth and Rottingdean, 2s; 'Billie' standing-in for Tonypandy 'in memory of Lewis Jones', 1s; J. Tuckett, standing-in for Manchester, 1s; 'Exeter', standing-in for Birmingham, Coventry, Crediton, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Norwich, Southampton, Turton (Lancs.) and Weymouth (pre-paid); F.C. (U.S.A.), standing-in for Cheltenham (pre-paid).

Steady money came from: 'Leicester', 5s; Anon, 'Whitchurch', 1s; C.B., 'Bristol', 2s 6d; A.G., 'Aberdeen', 2s 6d; P. O'H., 'Dublin', 2s; E.A.C., 'Horsham', 5s; 'St. Pancras Reader', £1 17s; Anon, 'Jo'burg, S. Africa', 10s; P.M., 'Cardiff', £1 10s; J.F., 'Aberdeen' (pre-paid); 'New York' (pre-paid); 'Kingussie' (pre-paid); 'Red Sergeant', 2s 6d; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; D. Mayo, 10s; J. Tuckett, 1s 6d; H.J., £10; H.G.B., 2s; Olivia Greene, £4; E. D. McCallum, 5s; D. Rees, £1; D. M. Clarke, £1; H.S.M., 2s 6d; Royston Green, 3s 6d; 'Debt Repaid', 12s; West London, 2s; R.F.B., £3; 'The Humphreys Family', 4s; 'L'Humanité', 3s; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 5s; 'Tam O'Shanter and The Grey Mare', 2s 6d; S. Mill, £1; T. Flood, 2s 6d; R. McLeod, 5s; H. Tinkler, 5s; F. Renouf, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; J. B. Thompson, 6s; D.M., 6s; P. N. Brinson, 10s; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d.

Other contributions include: A. Crosby, 5s; T. D. Tyson, 5s; G. Cameron, 10s; L. G. Durbidge, 5s; A.E.U. District Secretary, 5s; N. Cockren, 5s; T. Russell, 5s; V. S. Truelove, 2s 6d; K.J.G., 5s; H. Ross, 10s; T.S.B. (U.S.A.), £1 1s; D. Percival, 10s; E. Brummitt, 3s; S. J. Berry, £1 7s; H.B. (Canada), 6s 10d; J. Walkinshaw, 10s; H. E. Walthall, 5s; W. A. Burbidge, 5s; A. Singer, £10; M. Mertens Steinen, 5s; H.S. (South Africa), 18s 4d; R.S. (India), 4s; R. F. Neal, 5s; H. Braun, 2s 9d; E. J. Wright, 3s; J. Smith, 2s 6d; C. Dicker, 5s; R.A.H. (South Africa), £1; C. Nettleton, 10s; H. Rose, 5s; A. Burne, 5s; D. E. Williams, 5s; G. E., 5s; T. Grounds, £3 5s; W. Wallace, £1 5s; E. Hunt, 1s; H. M. Barnett, 5s; G.E.M. (U.S.A.), 10s 6d; E.S. (U.S.A.), £2 5s 10d; H.S.J. (U.S.A.), 7s.

Our thanks to you all.

ANGELA TUCKETT.

Co-op. Number L.99482

134 Ballard's Lane, London, N.3.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The BIG 5

Every Labour Monthly reader should be subscribing to one, or more, of the big five Soviet journals that are now available in English. In the coming years, more than ever before, it is essential for all thinking people to know the truth about what the Soviet people are thinking, and doing. The FULL PICTURE can only be obtained in

NEWS

The new Soviet magazine which broke into Britain's headlines when it was first published with its declared aim of improving Anglo-Soviet friendship. Articles on the Soviet view of events, people and politics in Britain often appear. Published twice monthly 10s. a year. 5s. for 6 months.

SOVIET UNION

The world's most colourfully-illustrated photo magazine. Its 32 BIG pages of pictures take you right into the homes and factories of the Soviet people, onto the very sites of their great new constructions. Monthly. 15s. a year. 7s. 6d. for 6 months.

NEW TIMES

Essential reading for every student of international affairs, bringing you, every week, the opinions of leading Soviet writers, Trade Unionists, Statesmen, Scientists and Economists on all world problems. 14s. a year. 7s. for 6 months.

SOVIET WOMAN

What Socialism has brought to the women of the U.S.S.R. in terms of a better and fuller life, with equality of opportunity to take a leading part in all aspects of life, as workers, as wives and mothers. Many colour illustrations. 5s. a year. 2s. 6d. for 6 months.

SOVIET LITERATURE

Short stories, poems, art reproductions and criticisms, discusssions on every aspect of Soviet cultural life are contained in this monthly journal to which leading Soviet writers, poets and artists are regular contributors. 12s. 6d. a year. 6s. 6d. for 6 months.

Send a subscription for one of these magazines to your friend as a Christmas present. It will be appreciated all the year round. Send off this coupon today.

To Collet's Subscription Dept., 40 Gt. Russell St., London, W.C.1

I enclose ..... **for subscription(s) to**

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

NEWS	**for....months**
SOVIET UNION	**for....months**
NEW TIMES	**for....months**
SOVIET WOMAN	**for....months**
SOVIET LIT.	**for....months**

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED